—James Hamilton

Nelson Rockefeller's last laugh?

Rockefeller and the CIA

village voice 10/24/74

BY JOSEPH P. SHEA

Who is Victor Andrade?

His official title is "Representative of the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States to Brazil," and he's the only foreign national named by Nelson Rockefeller as a gift recipient in the list he gave the Senate Rules Committee October 11.

But according to a Bolivian Cabinet Minister who witnessed one $25,000 payment, Andrade was on the CIA's payroll while he was a powerful political figure in Bolivia.

In a 1970 interview in Mexico City, Interior Minister Antonio Arguedas told me that Andrade "received, more or less, $25,000" from "the chief of the CIA in Bolivia, an American named Lawrence Sternfield."

Arguedas said Andrade got the money "to influence the elections" while he was a leading political figure there. "He received, more or less, $25,000—the allowance that I saw them deliver to him," Arguedas said. Rockefeller, who has known Andrade since the early '40's, said he has given him $38,200 for "support" over the years. Rockefeller's gift statement to the Senate Rules Committee described Andrade as "a close personal friend of mine." "As a result of various political upheavals in Bolivia," Rockefeller said in explaining his gifts, "he has been exiled from his country at various times, living mostly in the United States without adequate means of support."

A spokeswoman for the Protocol Office at the OAS headquarters in Washington, however, told me Andrade was the OAS's "top man in Brazil." He lives not in poverty in the United States but in Brazil's new, ultra-modern capital city, Brazilia.

Arguedas, speaking after his own exile from Bolivia, said candidates for national office in Bolivia received regular campaign contributions from the CIA. "In the election of General Barrientos," Arguedas said, "the chief of the CIA provided $600,000 for the elections. I was personally present." This summer, of course, William C. Colby, Director of the CIA, admitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the agency had spent $6,000,000, in his memorable phrase, to "destabilize" the Allende government

in Chile.

"It's not foreign to me," Arguedas said in 1970, "because when there was an electoral period in Chile, I was also speaking with the chief of the CIA. He told me he had many electoral expenses down there."

Arguedas criticized "the Rockefellers, Mellons and DuPonts" for interfering in Latin American affairs. "Let them respect our sovereignty," he said. "We are not thinking of delivering their country from the hands of Mr. Rockefeller."

In his Senate testimony, Rockefeller stressed that "Andrade is not and never was a public official in the United States. He was Ambassador from Bolivia .... Later, he was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Ever since the '40's he has been a close personal friend of mine and a great friend of the United States." His friendship for this country seems quite understandable in the light of Rockefeller's and the CIA's largesse.

It would be unusual if Andrade, as Foreign Affairs minister, did not exert great influence over the entry of American investment into Bolivia. Direct American investment there currently exceeds $100 million, represented largely by 15 oil companies and several large mining firms. The Latin American investments of American firms exceeded $3 billion in 1957.

In 1966, when Andrade was a powerful figure in Bolivia, David Rockefeller called for extensive internal "reforms" that would expand internal markets in underdeveloped Latin American nations, allowing more room for investment by American banks.

Large gifts of cash to a senior OAS diplomat are not guileless, and when you add to them the payment Antonio Arguedas saw, you suspect they spring not from generosity but from economic common sense.

Asked to comment, Rockefeller—through press aide Hugh Morrow—said: "Victor Andrade is a personal friend of mine. I know nothing about the CIA or any reports of his connection with the CIA." □